

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00

EB-07 FRB-03 CIEP-01 STR-04 TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01

SAM-01 OMB-01 ARA-06 ACDA-07 SAJ-01 IO-13 AF-08 EA-07

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O R 041515Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2294

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USBERLIN
AMCONSUL BREMEN
AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
AMCONSUL STUTTGART

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 16784

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, GW
SUBJECT: GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY: THE SECOND SCHMIDT
ADMINISTRATION

BEGIN SUMMARY: WE DO NOT EXPECT SCHMIDT TO CHANGE
THE MAIN LINES OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY AS A RESULT OF
HIS NARROW ELECTION VICTORY. THE BREZHNEV VISIT
WILL BE THE FIRST IMPORTANT EVENT OF HIS SECOND ADMINIS-
TRATION. GENSCHER WILL ASSUME INCREASED IMPORTANCE.
HOW HE AND SCHMIDT WILL COOPERATE IN EASTERN POLICY
REMAINS TO BE SEEN. END SUMMARY.

1. WE CAN EXPECT SCHMIDT NOT TO BE DETERRED BY HIS
NARROW VICTORY, BUT INSTEAD TO IMPLEMENT A FOREIGN
POLICY WHICH WILL BE ALONG THE SAME LINES OF HIS FIRST
ADMINISTRATION. THE BASICS OF THIS POLICY WILL
REMAIN A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US, A
STRONG ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, ADVOCACY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRA-
TION, IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND EASTERN
EUROPE, AND INCREASED INTEREST IN THE THIRD WORLD. THIS
SITUATION IS NOT SURPRISING, GIVEN THE GENERAL AGREE-
MENT AMONG GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES ON FOREIGN POLICY
AND GIVEN THE CONSEQUENT LACK OF CHALLENGE BY THE
OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES -- EXCEPT FOR
OSTPOLITIK.

2. THE US:
SCHMIDT WILL WAIT FOR THE OUTCOME OF OUR ELECTIONS
BEFORE UNDERTAKING ANY MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES
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EITHER TOWARD THE US OR INVOLVING THE US. HE THEN WILL
WISH TO RE-ESTABLISH A PATTERN OF CLOSE CONSULTATIONS
AND PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT.
SCHMIDT ENJOYS THE PATTERN SET BY THE RAMBOUILLET AND
PUERTO RICAN SUMMITS AND MAY WANT TO HOLD ANOTHER ONE
IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

3. EUROPE:

NATO AND THE EC WILL REMAIN THE PILLARS OF GERMAN EUROPEAN POLICY. THE OTHER LEADERS OF EUROPE SHOULD ANTICIPATE CONTINUED LECTURING BY SCHMIDT ON THE POOR CONDITION OF THEIR HOUSES. SCHMIDT WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, BUT ONLY ON TERMS ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG AND WHICH GIVE A HIGH PRIORITY TO GOOD ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE. SCHMIDT WILL CONTINUE TO STRESS PRACTICAL VERSUS FAR-REACHING STEPS TOWARD INTEGRATION. IN THIS RESPECT, HE WILL REMAIN SKEPTICAL TOWARD THE EC COMMISSION, BUT WILL WISH TO ESTABLISH A GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH JENKINS. GENSCHER WILL CONTINUE TO STRESS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CITIZEN'S EUROPE. THE FRG WILL REMAIN WILLING TO MAKE SACRIFICES FOR THE SAKE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND STABILITY.

4. EASTERN POLICY:

RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE THE FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE ON WHICH SCHMIDT WILL FOCUS FIRST. A BREZHNEV VISIT IS ABOUT TWO MONTHS AWAY. THE AGENDA WILL BE A CROWDED ONE. EITHER A WAY MUST BE FOUND TO RESOLVE BERLIN ISSUES IN THE THREE STALLED AGREEMENTS OR SOME SOLUTION WHICH WILL SIDESTEP THE BERLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 16784

QUESTION WILL BE SOUGHT. SCHMIDT WANTS TO TALK ABOUT
CSCE WITH BREZHNEV. HE WANTS TO REVIEW THE RESULTS OF
HELSINKI AND PREPARE FOR BELGRADE. ON MBFR, SCHMIDT
HAS DECLARED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE ELEVATED
FROM THE EXPERT TO THE POLITICAL LEVEL. ONCE BREZHNEV
LEAVES TOWN, HUSAK AND KADAR SHOULD FOLLOW HIM TO BONN
WITHIN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF '76. VISITS BY SCHMIDT
AND GENSCHER TO POLAND ARE SCHEDULED FOR THE FALL AND
SPRING RESPECTIVELY. IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE
USSR GENSCHER WILL BE MOST RELUCTANT TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL

CONCESSIONS. HOW THIS ATTITUDE WILL AFFECT SCHMIDT'S POLICIES REMAINS TO BE SEEN. HE IS MORE DEPENDENT THAN EVER ON GENSCHER'S SUPPORT TO MAINTAIN HIS GOVERNING COALITION.

5. THE THIRD WORLD:

HERE GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE GERMAN POLICY SUPPORTIVE OF THE US. THIS CONSIDERATION IS PARTICULARLY TRUE ON ACUTE PROBLEMS SUCH AS SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE FRG'S INCREASED INTEREST IN THE THIRD WORLD, AS WELL AS THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S PROPENSITY TO TRAVEL, WILL PROBABLY RESULT IN HIGH LEVEL VISITS TO THE LEADING THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. WE HAVE ALREADY HEARD OF PLANS BY GENSCHER TO VISIT THE SUBCONTINENT AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. HE ALSO REPORTEDLY HAS ANOTHER VISIT TO BLACK AFRICA IN THE WORKS.

6. UN:
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THE FRG HAS RECENTLY TAKEN ITS FIRST INITIATIVE AT THE UN SINCE BECOMING A MEMBER IN 1973: THE PROPOSED RESOLUTION AGAINST THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES. IN JANUARY THE FRG WILL TAKE A SEAT ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL, ANOTHER FIRST. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE UN IS PLAYING AN INCREASED ROLE IN GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, AND THAT GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY WILL PLAY AN INCREASED ROLE IN THE UN. ONCE AGAIN WE ANTICIPATE THAT THE FRG EFFORTS WILL SUPPORT OURS.
HILLENBRAND

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